mentioned, there had grown up an important series of manufacturing industries before the War. Some depended on local raw materials such as timber, but, in general, the pre-War industry of these territories took the form of the conversion of imported raw materials into finished articles, which were sold in Russia. The extent of these industries may be judged from the fact that in 1910 more persons were employed in the textile, chemical, and metal industries of Latvia than the entire number of those employed in all the industries of the country in 1926. Moreover, Reval (Tallinn) was one of the most important shipbuilding bases of the Russian Empire, while at Krainholm there existed one of the largest cotton mills in the world.[1]

The War, and the establishment of independent States, changed the whole position. The Russian market, the basis of the manufacturing industry, was lost. The indispensable raw materials could no longer be imported on the pre-War scale; and, as has been seen, the mineral resources of Estonia (except for oil-shale) and Latvia are negligible from the commercial point of view. Moreover, the War had brought devastation which in many cases it would have been impossibly expensive to repair even if markets had existed; in Latvia, which was perhaps most severely affected, the retreating Russians had carried off most of the machinery which could be moved, and many of the factories were no more than empty buildings. Finally, the demands of economic nationalism required that Lithuania should make some attempt to develop manufacturing industries of her own where none had existed before.

It is impossible to trace here the steps by which some kind of order was produced from the chaos of the years immediately after the War. In general, the policy of Estonia and Latvia was to develop only those industries which were essential to local requirements, or which could exist without the Russian market. Within this limited scope, a considerable measure of success was achieved during the period. The State was occasionally able to make good the loss or destruction of machinery through foreign relief credits received immediately after the War, and when some degree of economic and political stability had been achieved in the Baltic, foreign capital—chiefly German and British—was made available to industry through the banking system. It was even possible to obtain a small footing in the export market, for the standard of living in Estonia and Latvia was comparatively low, and costs were often on a good competitive

[1] The early development of the cotton industry in Estonia was largely due to a British-trained German, Julius Knoop (1811–94), who eventually came to dominate the entire textile industry of Russia. For further details, see L. H. Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital*, New York, 1927, pp. 163–4. A fuller account will be found in *Krainholm Manufaktur 1857–1932*, privately printed by the Gesellschaft der Krainholm Manufaktur für Baumwollfabrikate, 1933.

313 industries. These latter had previously worked very largely for Russian consumers, and it was only towards the end of the period that it became possible to find substitutes abroad for the loss of this market.

325 727 Latvia's metallurgical industry, which also had worked almost entirely for the Russian market, was perhaps more hardly hit than any other single industry in the Baltic States; for not only was this market no longer available, but in many cases plant had been destroyed or removed. To some extent it was possible to readapt the plant that remained for the manufacture of goods such as agricultural machinery (of which some was even exported to the U.S.S.R. under the Treaty of 1927[1]); but, in branches such as shipbuilding and the more elaborate types of engineering, it was obviously impossible, in the circumstances, to re-establish production on the pre-War basis. In this case Latvia, like Estonia, was compelled to face the fact that, for the most part, markets and means of purchasing raw materials had disappeared.

283 Similar difficulties were felt by the textile industry, which before the War had reached a high degree of efficiency; but, on the whole, adaptation to the new circumstances was more successful during the period. The industry, which is both absolutely and relatively smaller than that of Estonia, comprised cotton-spinning and weaving mills, some wool-weaving mills, and flax-spinning plant. Yet, though the capacity of the industry was probably large enough to supply the country's entire requirements, the high level of costs did not permit of this, and considerable imports of semi-manufactured and finished goods were required. Of the other more important industries, except for those connected with foodstuffs, may be mentioned the rubber industry, consisting largely of the manufacture of goloshes. Many of these products were exported to neighbouring countries. The cork and linoleum industry also attained some importance during the period.

Estonia. Much of what has been said of Latvia applies also to 721 Estonia. Here the textile industry continued to be the most important branch. The difficulties already mentioned were met to some extent by the renovation and conversion of plant for processes, such as bleaching, dyeing, and printing, which had not been undertaken before the War. By these means it was possible, during the period, to obtain a footing in foreign markets, particularly in the Baltic countries, but also in more distant markets such as the Balkan States. Yet the total of persons employed in the two cotton mills in Estonia during 1925 was only 5,000, whereas before the War the Krainholm mill alone had employed 13,000. Much success was

[1] See below, p. 127.

obtained in the flax-spinning and weaving industries, which were 288 ●
able to export during this period.

The timber industries, which include sawmills and veneer and 313
boxwood factories, are very similar to those of Latvia, and similar conditions apply; but during these years Estonia began to specialize in the production of plywood. In this, British capital is interested through Venesta Ltd. There is also an important match industry, and a comparatively large cellulose factory at Tallinn. The paper and pulp industry suffered considerably from the War, but had begun to recover by 1929. The metal and machinery industries of Tallinn 325
suffered in the same way as those of Riga, though the depredation 727
and devastation caused by the War was perhaps less severe. But, 396
whereas before the War nearly 20,000 men were employed in the principal shipyards and engineering works of that centre, the difficulty of paying for raw materials and the loss of the Russian market brought plant almost to a standstill. Several factories were eventually adapted to produce goods for the home market, but during the period the industry as a whole was rarely working to more than about 20 per cent. of capacity.

Apart from the foodstuffs industry the only other industry of 382
importance in Estonia was that connected with shale. It has been [35]
estimated that workable strata cover an area of about 2,400 square km., and that reserves amount to over 5,000 million tons. These reserves were by no means fully exploited during the period, but a beginning was made in using the cheap form of fuel provided by oil-shale for a number of industries and public utilities, such as gas-works and the railways. Moreover, the ashes which remain from oil-shale [339]
after carbonization can be used, when ground, as a binding material for building purposes; and, as a result, the quality of Estonian cement acquired a wide reputation. It is also possible to extract a liquid oil from oil-shale, and a plant, which began to operate in 1925, was set up for this purpose. The oil so obtained is refined into a number of different types of spirit such as benzine, gasoline, and lubricating oil; and its commercial use became possible during the period. Fin- [439]
ally, it may be mentioned that the British firm, New Consolidated Goldfields Ltd., has been interested in the production of oil from shale for some years.

Lithuania. Before the War Lithuania had no manufacturing in- 438
dustries comparable with those of Estonia and Latvia. Most were connected with the preparation of foodstuffs, tanning, or the manufacture of bricks, glass, and pottery; there was a timber industry, but this was on a much smaller scale than that of the two other countries. There were also two comparatively large ironworks (Schmidt Bros. and Tillmann Bros.) manufacturing nails, locks,

1,500 feet. In the center lies the lake Vyrts-Yarv (Võrts Järv), which empties through the Emayogi (Emajõgi) into Lake Peipus on the eastern border of the republic. Lake Peipus is connected by the Narva River with the Gulf of Finland. The only other notable river is the Pyarnu (Pärnu), which flows southwest to the Gulf of Riga. The Estonian rivers are generally not navigable, but the numerous rapids provide a relatively large hydroelectric potential.

The Estonians represent more than 90 percent of the total population. The principal minorities are the Russians, mostly in the cities, and the Swedes, on the islands off the west coast and in the urban centers. As in Latvia, rural districts with a predominantly Russian population were separated from Latvia and annexed to the Russian SFSR. The territorial transfer which took place in 1945 involved the Petseri (now Pechory) district, which was incorporated by Pskov Oblast, and the narrow frontier strip on the right bank of the Narva River, which became part of Leningrad Oblast.

Estonia is considerably better supplied with mineral resources than are the other two Baltic republics. Most important are the oil-shale deposits between Lake Peipus and the Gulf of Finland, which form the basis of an industry characteristic of the local economy. The oil shale extends about sixty miles between Rakvere and Narva in reserves estimated at 1.5 to 2.5 billion tons. The yield is 20–30 percent. The product can be used as fuel in solid form, but produces a large proportion of ashes, reducing its caloric value. A method has been developed by which the ash residue can be converted into cement, thus rendering the use of the shale more economical. Distillation of the shale yields heavy oils and various other products used in the chemical industry. In recent years fuel gas has also been derived from the process. The center of the oil-shale district is Kokhtla-Yarve (Kohtla-Järve).

The textile industry assumes large proportions in the Estonian economy. There are large cotton mills at Narva and Tallin, and smaller weaving and flax-spinning enterprises in other towns. Forests, which cover 20 percent of the area, furnish lumber for match, paper, and furniture industries. Tyuri (Türi) is the chief paper-milling center. Blue clays along the Gulf of Finland coast supply a large cement mill at Kunda. The greater part of the metalworking industries is concentrated in Tallin, Tartu, and Pyarnu.

Dairy farming is the basic feature of the agricultural economy. Even more than in Latvia do meadows and pastures predominate over culti-